



This is a digital copy of a book that was preserved for generations on library shelves before it was carefully scanned by Google as part of a project to make the world's books discoverable online.

It has survived long enough for the copyright to expire and the book to enter the public domain. A public domain book is one that was never subject to copyright or whose legal copyright term has expired. Whether a book is in the public domain may vary country to country. Public domain books are our gateways to the past, representing a wealth of history, culture and knowledge that's often difficult to discover.

Marks, notations and other marginalia present in the original volume will appear in this file - a reminder of this book's long journey from the publisher to a library and finally to you.

Usage guidelines

Google is proud to partner with libraries to digitize public domain materials and make them widely accessible. Public domain books belong to the public and we are merely their custodians. Nevertheless, this work is expensive, so in order to keep providing this resource, we have taken steps to prevent abuse by commercial parties, including placing technical restrictions on automated querying.

We also ask that you:

- + *Make non-commercial use of the files* We designed Google Book Search for use by individuals, and we request that you use these files for personal, non-commercial purposes.
- + *Refrain from automated querying* Do not send automated queries of any sort to Google's system: If you are conducting research on machine translation, optical character recognition or other areas where access to a large amount of text is helpful, please contact us. We encourage the use of public domain materials for these purposes and may be able to help.
- + *Maintain attribution* The Google "watermark" you see on each file is essential for informing people about this project and helping them find additional materials through Google Book Search. Please do not remove it.
- + *Keep it legal* Whatever your use, remember that you are responsible for ensuring that what you are doing is legal. Do not assume that just because we believe a book is in the public domain for users in the United States, that the work is also in the public domain for users in other countries. Whether a book is still in copyright varies from country to country, and we can't offer guidance on whether any specific use of any specific book is allowed. Please do not assume that a book's appearance in Google Book Search means it can be used in any manner anywhere in the world. Copyright infringement liability can be quite severe.

About Google Book Search

Google's mission is to organize the world's information and to make it universally accessible and useful. Google Book Search helps readers discover the world's books while helping authors and publishers reach new audiences. You can search through the full text of this book on the web at <http://books.google.com/>

Harvard Divinity School



**ANDOVER-HARVARD THEOLOGICAL
LIBRARY**

**BOUGHT FROM THE FUND
GIVEN IN MEMORY OF
FRANCIS AND ALAN ARENSBERG**



THE SOUTHERN QUESTION

PAST AND PRESENT.

An Address.

BY

RICHARD P. HALLOWELL.

DELIVERED BEFORE THE

HARVARD HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF HARVARD COLLEGE,
IN BOYLSTON HALL, CAMBRIDGE, MASS.,
MARCH 12, 1890.

BOSTON:
PRESS OF SAMUEL USHER,
171 DEVONSHIRE STREET.
1890.

From the Estate of
Francis E. Abbot

28 March 1906

(1 3 2 6)

H59
H193pc
1890

THE SOUTHERN QUESTION PAST AND PRESENT.

Mr. President and Gentlemen of the Historical Society,—When our fathers gave slavery recognition in the United States Constitution they provided a curse for our inheritance. It retarded our national growth, it debauched public opinion, it developed prejudice against the negro that turned men into devils. It established and maintained an oligarchy in the South before which Northern statesmen crouched like whipped spaniels. When at last the suppression of abolitionists and the complete overthrow of freedom was presented to us as the only alternative to a disruption of the Union, even such men as Abraham Lincoln hastened to assure the haughty slavemasters of their willingness to bind their wretched victims with heavier manacles. The war for the preservation of the Union began in 1861. It was, in its deeper meaning, divine punishment for our national crime; divine

notice that the crime must cease and be atoned for. We were slow to comprehend, but, after years of bloody war, having failed to conquer the rebels, we succeeded in conquering our prejudice against the negro, called upon him to save us, and offered him his freedom. Two hundred thousand colored men responded to the call, fought our battles and saved the Union.

Abraham Lincoln's proclamation emancipated the slave, and his emancipation was ratified by the Thirteenth Amendment of the Constitution. By this act we pledged him indemnity for the past and security for the future. For a second and a third time we renewed our pledge through constitutional amendments, conferring upon him the rights of citizenship and the right of suffrage. As to how far we have redeemed our pledge I shall speak presently, but for the moment I ask your attention to the assertion, so often heard, that the enfranchisement of the negro was a grave mistake. On the contrary, I believe it was the wisest act of the American people recorded in the history of reconstruction. The evidence furnished by that history is conclusive. Let us examine it.

At the outset, these Northern men who catch their

inspiration from Southern leaders erroneously assume that at the close of the war the population of the South, aside from the colored people, was made up of intelligent and loyal whites, fully capable of self-government, and that the reestablishment of law and order might have been safely left in their hands with the confident expectation that they would promptly establish state governments, under which free institutions would be assured. So far from this, the whites of the South were the victims of their own pet institutions. Slavery had corrupted the moral sense of the North, while in the South there was not only moral corruption, but almost a complete obliteration of the sense of responsibility to law, without which republican institutions are impossible. Added to this, the sentiment of genuine loyalty to the government was almost unknown. When the Confederacy surrendered, the whites of the South were conquered, but not convinced, and their leaders were resolved if possible to get back into the Union without conditions. Their former political power having been restored, they proposed to recover by political *finesse* whatever they had lost by the bayonet. Slavery had been abolished, but by state legislation they could substitute a system of servile

subjection only one degree removed from slavery. To an ordinary observer of human nature it would seem as if a miracle alone could have at once transformed men, reared in the atmosphere of slavery and conquered on the field of battle, into loyal citizens quick to appreciate the blessings of liberty and to assume the duties and responsibilities of citizens of a free community.

The reconstruction period was opened by the establishment of provisional legislatures in the rebel States. These legislatures were composed of white men exclusively. As soon as they were convened, they enacted atrocious laws applicable especially to the colored race. These laws regulated the relations between master and servant. The legislature of Alabama was bold enough to use the term "former master," when providing for the cruel apprenticeship of minors. In Alabama, "stubborn and refractory servants" were declared to be "vagrants," to be taken before a justice of the peace, who could fine them \$50, and in default of payment they might be hired out on three days' public notice for six months. Laws were ingeniously framed to deprive the colored man of the right to contract for his own labor, or to receive the benefits of his daily toil. The South

Carolina legislature compelled colored men wishing to be mechanics to pay \$10 for a license, while for the privilege of being a shopkeeper an annual payment of \$100 was demanded. That the revival of slavery, so far as it could be revived, was the intention of the makers of these laws there is no room for doubt.

The condition of the South in the early days of the reconstruction period was fairly described by the Hon. Carl Schurz, who, in the summer of 1865, was sent into the Southern States by President Johnson that he might make an intelligent and unbiased report of the situation. Mr. Schurz reported that, in his judgment, it will "hardly be possible to secure the freedman against oppressive legislation and private persecution unless he be endowed with a certain measure of political power." He declared that "the emancipation of the slaves is submitted to only in so far as chattel slavery in the old form could not be kept up; and although the freedman is no longer considered the property of an individual master, he is considered the slave of society and all independent state legislation will share the tendency to make him such. The ordinances abolishing slavery passed by the conventions

under the pressure of circumstances will not be looked upon as barring the establishment of a new form of servitude." Regarding the loyalty of the white people, Mr. Schurz reported that there was "an entire absence of that national spirit which forms the basis of true loyalty and patriotism." White Southern loyalty, he said, "consisted in submission to necessity."

In later years Mr. Schurz championed the cause of the Southern Bourbon, but his defection does not invalidate his early statements. He has never asked leave to amend his report, nor has he retracted a single line. He spoke as an intelligent and impartial observer, and he told the truth.

The people of the North were in no mood for trifling, and were resolved that the blood shed and treasure wasted by the Civil War should be, at least in a measure, compensated for by a reestablishment of the Union that would preclude all possibility of another rebellion based upon the theory of State rights. They were resolved also that the overthrow of slavery should be complete and final. Congress, overriding the insane opposition of President Johnson, at once placed the Union men of the South, whether black or white, under the protection of the

Federal Government. This accomplished, measures were taken to submit the Fourteenth Constitutional Amendment to the people. By this amendment the laws through which the provisional governments had attempted to reënslave the negro were swept away. The freedman was invested with the rights and dignity of a citizen of the United States. He was not enfranchised, but he could no longer be the victim of penal state laws designed to hold him in servile subjugation. The rights and benefits conferred upon him were simply those to which every human being is entitled, whether he be white or black, drunk or sober, criminal or virtuous, ignorant or educated. Had the rebellious States accepted this amendment they might have reëntered the Union without further conditions. Tennessee accepted it, and was the first to be readmitted. The others, ten in number, through their provisional governments, rejected it with contempt and scorn. Commenting upon this fatal blunder of the Southern Bourbons, Mr. Garfield, then in Congress, said: "I call attention to the fact that from the collapse of the Rebellion to the present time Congress has undertaken to restore the States lately in rebellion by coöperation with their people; and that our efforts in that direc-

tion have proven a complete and disastrous failure. . . . The Constitutional Amendment did not come up to the full height of the great occasion. It did not meet all I desired in the way of guarantees to liberty, but if the rebel States had adopted it as Tennessee did, I should have felt bound to let them in on the same terms prescribed for Tennessee. I have been in favor of waiting to give them full time to deliberate and to act. They have deliberated. They have acted. The last one of the sinful ten has at last, with contempt and scorn, flung back in our teeth the magnanimous offer of a generous nation. It is now our turn to act. They would not coöperate with us in building what they destroyed. We must remove the rubbish and build from the bottom."

This speech by General Garfield reflected the public sentiment of an immense majority of the people of the North. A complete surrender to the Southern Confederacy being out of the question, our government was confronted with two alternatives. It remained for us to hold the South under military subjection indefinitely, or to enfranchise the negro and for the second time appeal to him to save the nation. Ignorant he might be, but his loyalty

was undoubted, and he could be relied upon to bring back the seceding States with governments that would conform to the Constitution of the United States, and would, so far as law could accomplish it, secure to every inhabitant, black or white, poor or rich, humble or exalted, the rights of a freeman. On the second day of March, 1867, Congress passed a Reconstruction Act, of which section 5 reads, in part, as follows:—

“That when the people of any one of said rebel States shall have formed a constitution of government in conformity with the Constitution of the United States in all respects, framed by a convention of delegates elected by the male citizens of said State twenty-one years old and upward, of whatever race, color, or previous condition, . . . and when such constitution shall provide that the elective franchise shall be enjoyed by all such persons as have the qualifications herein stated for electors of delegates, and when such constitution shall be ratified by a majority of the persons voting on the question of ratification who are qualified as electors for delegates, and when such constitution shall have been submitted to Congress for examination and approval, and when said State, by a vote of its legislature elected under said

constitution, shall have adopted the Amendment to the Constitution of the United States, proposed by the Twenty-ninth Congress, and known as Article XIV, and when said article shall have become a part of the Constitution of the United States, said State shall be declared entitled to representation in Congress," etc. etc.

It is unnecessary to repeat the further history of reconstruction in detail, and it will suffice to say that, while most of the rebel leaders of the South sullenly refused to coöperate, the colored man responded promptly, and through the action of the prescribed conventions elected state legislatures, adopted proper state constitutions, and restored the Union. In process of time the whole nation confirmed the act of Congress by the adoption of the Fifteenth Constitutional Amendment.

Now I desire to put the question to the wiseacres of the present day who carp at and criticize the action of the loyal people of the United States, when, in order to restore the Union, to give the freedman the power to protect himself, and to establish liberty as the fundamental law of the land, they conferred the right of suffrage upon the negro — what would you have done had the grave responsi-

bility fallen upon you? Would you who, if a United States soldier approaches within a gunshot of the ballot-box, tremble lest our liberties be overthrown, would you have advocated the holding of the entire South under military subjection indefinitely? I do not believe it. You do not believe it? I will not insult the intelligence or the loyalty of citizens of Massachusetts by assuming for a moment that, at the close of our Civil War, they would have surrendered to the rebel States the right to reënter the Union under their old state constitutions, and the right to nullify the Emancipation Act by oppressive and wicked legislation. You would not have done that. You would have opposed indefinite military subjection, and I have faith to believe that you would have worked shoulder to shoulder with Phillips and Garrison, Sumner and Wilson, Stevens and Garfield, and the hosts of loyal men who supported them.

Negro suffrage was one of the logical and inevitable results of the Civil War, and until accepted in entire good faith there can be no lasting peace. How far it has been accepted by the South her history since the war will show. Let us look at South Carolina by way of illustration. As soon as

reconstruction began, many adventurers took up their abode in South Carolina, and, taking advantage of the refusal of the great mass of native white men, and especially the former political leaders, to participate in the new state government; taking advantage of the ignorance, the credulity, and the impoverished state of the freedman, who was literally the owner of nothing beyond the rags that covered his nakedness; taking advantage of such conditions, these harpies secured political power and inaugurated an era of corruption and public theft that was only less disgraceful to our American civilization than the period wherein the slavedrivers' whip and the human auction-block were the sign-manual of the State. For them I make no defence, no apology. They deserve the execration of all mankind. But even in these dark days the negro showed true appreciation of his new status. He developed the material resources of the State. He made homes secure by recognition of marriage. When he sent men of his own race to Washington he selected the best educated and the most intelligent. In the course of a very few years he developed political sagacity sufficient to distinguish between the professed friendship of white scamps who

had misled him and the honest friendship of white men who, in good faith, proffered him their aid. But better than all this, he established a system of free public schools, and at any sacrifice sought to educate his race. Men, women, and children flocked to the schoolhouse, attesting their eager desire for knowledge.

Considering his disadvantages and the obstacles to be overcome, we may well marvel at his success. Take a million of the most ignorant white laboring men, voters in Northern States, place them under similar conditions, and assert, if you can, that they would make a better record. Fortunately, scoundrels were not the only carpet-baggers who found their way to South Carolina. Scores of noble young men and women from the North gave the best years of their lives to the education of both blacks and whites, while others entered the political field. Such men as Tomlinson and Chamberlain began a desperate struggle to displace the adventurers. Tomlinson, an upright and able man, led the opposition to Governor Moses, a native of South Carolina and a convicted thief, only to be defeated. Chamberlain, under more auspicious circumstances, was afterward elected governor, and for two years filled the office with splendid

ability and scrupulous fidelity to the best interests of the State. I am well aware that Mr. Chamberlain was recently the welcome and sympathetic guest of a club of gentlemen who see little in the negro but hopeless ignorance and incapacity, and that he is to-day a conspicuous ally of his oppressor, but I speak now of the Mr. Chamberlain, who, when he was their neighbor and leader, testified that a great majority of the negroes were desirous to establish good government; of the Mr. Chamberlain, who was the brave champion of freedom and of legislative purity in South Carolina. He compelled the praise and admiration even of the old Bourbon leaders, and for a moment it seemed as if their reason had returned and that they would aid his reelection.

The Charleston News and Courier, their leading organ, ably defended his administration. In a summary of what he had accomplished, published in that newspaper, it is stated: —

The abuse of the pardoning power has been corrected.

The character of the officers of the Government appointed by the Executive has been improved.

The settlement of the public debt has been maintained unchanged, and faith with the public creditor,

so far as depended on executive and legislative action, has been fully kept.

The tax laws have been amended so as to secure substantial uniformity and equality in the assessment of property for taxation.

The contingent funds of the Executive Department have been so reduced in amount that the savings in two years, upon the basis of the average of six previous years, is \$101,260.

Legislative expenses, in like manner and upon a similar basis, have been so reduced as to save the people, in two years, \$350,810.

Legislative contingent expenses, in the same way, have been so reduced as to save to the State \$355,000.

In the expenditure of contingent funds accountability and publicity have been secured.

The cost of public printing has been reduced, saving in two years \$512,418.

The salaries of public officers have been reduced \$30,000 a year.

The tax levy for the current year for state purposes has been reduced from thirteen and a half mills to eleven mills, a saving to the people of \$300,000.

The above is in part a list of the reforms accom-

plished by Governor Chamberlain as recorded by a Bourbon newspaper. The News and Courier called upon its party to support Mr. Chamberlain, but evil counsel prevailed. Fear lest, under the lead of Chamberlain, the negro would vindicate the wisdom of his enfranchisement was far greater than the desire for pure and honest government. At this critical moment their Northern allies asked them for the electoral vote of the State for their presidential candidate. Through the election of Mr. Tilden they hoped to regain supremacy. They nominated a Bourbon ticket with Wade Hampton as candidate for governor, the News and Courier wheeled into line, and the campaign was opened.

Even the New York Nation, now their most serviceable journalistic apologist published in the North, protested.

Speaking of Governor Chamberlain, The Nation said: "It is plain as possible that there is no man who can be elected who can render the State, and especially the property-holders of the State, so much service. The corrupt element among the Radicals hate him." Of Wade Hampton it said: "He is neither a statesman, nor a politician, nor a man of conciliatory disposition, nor anything but a soldier

and a Southern gentleman of the old school, to whom niggers, Yankees, schools, roads, free labor, and free speech are naturally as hateful as to the Pope himself. To put him up as a candidate, this of all years, on the eve of a presidential election and close after the Hamburg massacre, seems to indicate a constitutional love of mischief."

The campaign which followed Hampton's nomination was, in reality, a ruffianly, murderous onslaught upon the lives, the rights, and the liberty of the negro and the white men who stood by him. Chamberlain and his friends, taking their lives in their hands, went through the State doing all in their power to restore courage to the terrorized inhabitants, and, as in previous days, when Kuklux bands of ruffians employed their leisure hours in burning schoolhouses and whipping and murdering negroes, the Federal Government, in a restricted way, aided him in his effort to preserve the peace.

Finally the election was held, and despite their fraud and murderous violence the Bourbons were defeated. Chamberlain was elected governor and the electoral vote of the State was cast for Rutherford B. Hayes, the Republican presidential candidate. The subsequent overthrow of the Chamber-

lain State Government, I shall always believe, was effected by a conspiracy between Wade Hampton and President Hayes. But let that pass.

South Carolina had been in the Union for eight years. Her history fairly indicates the history of other Southern States during those years. The colored man had been misled by unscrupulous adventurers, his private property was destroyed, his schoolhouses were burned, and he was ostracized, defrauded, persecuted, mobbed, flogged, and murdered by the native whites, known as the upper class. Facing these fearful disadvantages, he demonstrated his capacity for self-government, not only by what he accomplished as a citizen, but by showing what he could and surely would accomplish under more favorable conditions. On the other hand, the white South was persistently rebellious in its repudiation of the United States Constitution; it demonstrated its capacity for violence and fraud, and it proved to mankind the folly of the pretence that it was able or willing to reconstruct the States on the principles of justice and liberty if the business of reconstruction was left solely in its hands.

Such was the condition of Southern society in 1877, when Mr. Hayes became President. He was

confronted by a majority of the House of Representatives indifferent or hostile to the negro, and if at any previous time he had entertained a thought of protecting him, he quickly abandoned it.

The time had come when the North was ready to forget its pledges to the colored man. Twice he had preserved for us the integrity of the nation. First on the battlefield, and again in the field of legislation, when he restored the seceding States to the Union, but he had not yet conquered the arrogance and disloyalty of his former master, nor had he attained to a degree of wisdom and intelligence equal to that of Northern communities. Impatient of his failure in the space of eight years to perform these miracles, exhausted by the excitement of the bitter presidential contest which almost involved us in another civil war, in 1877 we consented to a double crime. We broke our pledge to secure to him the rights of a citizen and a freeman; we allowed republican government in the South to be overthrown, and thereby surrendered to the men who were defiantly and aggressively demanding the recognition, *de facto*, if not *de jure*, of the fundamental principle of slavery. Since the consummation of this crime, history has repeated itself with more

or less fidelity. It is true that a now increasing host of Northern men have always protested against the sin of 1877, and are resolved it shall be atoned for, but it is also true that Northern public opinion represented by a great political party has sunk low enough to justify party supremacy gained by wholesale fraud, and to endorse the civil and political subjection of the negro in the South. It is true that our best statesmen and political leaders resist the arrogant and insolent claims of Southern white men, made bold by reason of their victory in 1877, but it is also true that statesmen and leaders of a great political party almost rival the statesmen and political leaders of an earlier day in their subserviency to the oligarchy of the new South.

The late Mr. Grady, of Georgia, came to Boston, and, with the courage of his prejudice, with an assurance born of the sternest resolution, defended the suppression of the colored voter by fraud, flaunted in our faces the bloody garments of the white men and the colored men who died in defence of their own rights and the fundamental law of the land, described the cowardly murderers who shot them down as "the banded intelligence and responsibility of a free community," trampled the Federal Consti-

tution under his feet, and defied the Government to enforce it in the South. I honor and applaud his courage while I deplore his prejudice and denounce his treason. Would that he had lived to learn the lesson of freedom the South has yet to learn, and to become its champion. He died unrepentant, and one of the most prominent political leaders in Massachusetts hastened to Atlanta to pronounce his eulogy.

Looking into the faces of men who rule the State and boast that the Constitution has not been and shall not be enforced in Georgia, and within the hearing of humble citizens whose rights as freemen are shamefully and notoriously ignored, he avowed his belief that Georgia had accepted the results of the war and that they were loyally upheld by all her people. One would think that subserviency could no further go. But there was a lower depth. With Mr. Grady's treasonable utterances still ringing in his ears, he prayed to God that he might "catch the inspiration of his teaching."

Let us cast the mantle of charity over the young orator, and remember that he was sent to Atlanta, not to represent the people of Massachusetts, but a Boston Democratic club. He performed his duty to

his constituents, and he performed it superserviceably well. If William E. Russell ever aspires to represent Massachusetts, he must first learn that to close his eyes to the foul blot on the escutcheon of the New South and swear there is no blot betrays a quality of statesmanship not honored in the Old Bay State. He must seek inspiration from the words of men nurtured in the liberty-loving traditions of New England, and not from the teachings of a man who was nursed in the lap of a slave, and whose paternal legacy included the life-teachings of a father who died in a vain effort to uphold a confederacy of slavedealers.

During the years since 1877 every effort of the party of freedom to secure adequate protection to the negro has been opposed and thwarted by the very men who have been loudest in denunciation of our apathy and failure. Protests against political outrages in the South have been met with the vulgar cry of "bloody shirt." Men who have tried to arouse the sleeping conscience of the nation to a sense of its responsibility and duty, and who have pointed out the danger of a postponement of the settlement of the Southern question, have been charged with a desire to "feed fat an ancient

grudge " and to " revive passions and animosities happily quiescent." Questions upon whose correct settlement the fate of republican institutions in this country depends have been overshadowed by questions of trade and commerce. Questions involving human wrongs and human rights have been postponed to make room for questions purely economic in their nature. Free wool is regarded as more necessary to true national development than free men. The Mugwump is abroad, and notwithstanding his private virtues, his intelligence, and his culture, he constitutes what is perhaps the most dangerous political class in our community. He is a standing menace to our free institutions, for refined ignorance, when it successfully assumes the air and tone of authority, is more demoralizing in its influence upon a community than the more obvious and less plausible ignorance of the uneducated classes. When he leaves the realm of political economy and attempts to discuss Christian ethics and their bearing upon Southern society, he ignorantly argues that they are insufficient for the government of white men in their treatment of their colored fellow-citizens, and he offers as a substitute his own learned disquisitions upon ethnology, which, profound as they

are, invariably bring him to the conclusion that it is both wise and legitimate for the strong to oppress the weak.

When I contemplate his attitude toward the Southern question I am reminded of a personal experience of mine some years ago. I was enjoying a summer vacation in the Adirondack forest. Knowing that I came from Boston, my guide said to me one day, "Are you acquainted with a Mr. Lowell; he writes verses?" I replied, "Every one in Massachusetts knows and honors Professor James Russell Lowell. He is a very learned man. I presume you refer to him. Why do you ask?" "Because," he answered, "he was up here last summer. I was his guide, and I made up my mind that he is a d——d ignorant cuss." Apparently Mr. Lowell's ignorance of the mysteries of woodcraft had made a profound impression upon this honest woodsman, to whom such knowledge was of supreme importance. So it is with the Mugwump. When he drops Greek roots and free trade and attempts to discuss national questions involving the rights of the colored man he enters an unfamiliar field only to display his lack of knowledge and proper training.

Having noted the supine optimism of the North

since 1877, let us observe what has taken place in the South during the same period. The abandonment of the negro citizen by the North depressed, but did not crush, him. He is less servile than he was; quicker to assert his manhood. Time was when "Negro uprising, one white man badly scared and six negroes killed," was the formula for telegraphic reports of the massacre of unoffending negroes by white men. To-day we sometimes read that the negro has resisted the attack, and that his would-be murderers have suffered death at his hands as penalty for their crime. This is a cheering sign, full of hopeful significance. He has shown continued eagerness and aptitude for education by availing himself, not only of the stinted opportunities offered by the local governments, but also of the aid of Northern friends interested in his welfare. He has built his own schoolhouses, and the benches therein are never empty. He is no longer content to perform menial service only and to till the soil, but has become a mechanic and tradesman. In Georgia alone he has accumulated property valued by Mr. Grady at \$20,000,000. Mr. Grady testifies that he is entering professional life in multiplying numbers, and is now lawyer, teacher, editor, dentist,

doctor, and preacher. When allowed to cast a ballot, obeying the instinct of self-preservation, he has voted the Republican ticket. If this indicates lack of intelligence, what shall we say of the Northern voter who, by a large majority, has done the same thing? The assertion that he is ambitious for the political supremacy of his race has not a particle of evidence to sustain it. He is ready, perhaps more ready, to vote for white men than for colored men. I challenge any one to point to one legislative act, for which the negro is responsible, that deprives white men of one right or privilege secured to his own race.

Notwithstanding this most persistent and most creditable self-improvement of the negro, the Southern white Bourbon has continuously robbed him of his civil and political rights, and, to accomplish the robbery, has resorted to the foulest methods, short of extermination, known outside of Russia. Taking violent possession of the state governments, he has kept it by violence and fraud. White men who dare to exercise the right of free speech are either gagged or compelled to seek homes in the freer atmosphere of the North. Outrages upon the negro are the rule, not the exception, while punishment

of outrages is the exception, not the rule. For fourteen years the Bourbon has had supreme control, and during these years has overwhelmingly demonstrated the folly of the North when it confidently allowed him to overturn existing republican governments and to assume irresponsible power. His plea for pure government was a pretence, and, as has been ably stated by Mr. Cable, he has broken his promise to establish it. Both Mr. Cable and Judge Tourgée assert, and establish the assertion beyond cavil, that he has not taken one serious or important step in the direction of free government. On the contrary, he has established a barbarous despotism. What need to cite illustrations of his tyranny? He began by denying it, but to-day he boasts of it as a virtue. Deceived by the applause of his Northern allies, and blind to the fate of his rebel predecessors, he now boldly proclaims that this is a white man's government, defies and murders Federal officials, repudiates the Federal Constitution and declares it shall not be enforced. By his own reckless, mad career he has again brought the Southern question to the front, and it is now the theme of magazine, daily newspaper, debating club, lecture-room, and pulpit in every section of the North. It

was sure to come, and now that it is here let us remember that a great question involving the rights of millions of our fellow-citizens can never be finally settled until it is rightly settled. Until then it will return to plague us. Every postponement but increases the severity of righteous retribution sure to follow.

The real problem of to-day is not, What shall be done with the negro? but, What shall be done with the disloyal men of the South who repudiate the fundamental law of the nation? We are told it is a race question. Oh, if the colored man would only consent to leave the country, or, if he is unreasonable enough to prefer his native land to the wilds of Africa, why cannot he quietly consent to be insulted, to be cheated, to be cuffed and kicked and murdered at the caprice of every miserable white bully who happens to be out of humor! It is not a race problem that confronts us. Mr. Grady confessed as much when, alluding to the kindly relations between the races, he said, "Whites and blacks work side by side in our fields; on our buildings in the same squad, in our shops at the same forge." The truth is, that laboring men can conquer prejudice and become fraternal, but "the Southern gentleman of the old

school" will be unhappy if he is not allowed to abuse his "nigger" with impunity.

Let us not befog the issue by calling it a race question. Such a question may yet be forced upon the negro, but unless our Christianity is a hollow sham it will not be. *The permanency of republican government in the United States of America is the pressing question of the hour.* Shall it be maintained at whatever cost, or shall we weakly compromise with and finally surrender to the demon of slavery, who, in ill-concealed disguise, again threatens our destruction? Disloyalty cannot be converted into sincere loyalty through the medium of muskets. Enlightened conceptions of political morality cannot be legislated into men. A decent respect for the rights of his fellow-citizens cannot be arbitrarily implanted in the minds of a despot, but this mighty nation can with its strong arm compel obedience to the laws. When it does this, despotism will skulk in dark corners until it has learned the lesson of self-restraint; political morality will develop by natural growth, and loyalty will supplant disloyalty. I cannot agree with Mr. Cable when he counsels delay until we face another presidential election. We should then be charged with acting for political effect and party gain. Immediate, prompt, vigorous

action will avert disaster. Postponement will invite it. The true solution of the Southern question cannot come until, in tones strong and unmistakable, the proclamation and the edict go forth from Washington, — "This is not a white man's government, nor is it a black man's government, but it is a government of all the people, white and black. The political suppression of the colored man must cease. The rights of every American citizen must and shall be preserved. The Federal Constitution must be respected and obeyed." Let us make American citizenship as secure in South Carolina as it is in Massachusetts. Let us keep it so, and the negro question as a political factor will disappear. The final settlement of the Southern question will be reached.

ADDENDUM.

It will be admitted by all well-informed men who are not blinded by political partisanship that the negro vote in every part of the Union is overwhelmingly Republican and consequently, even if we assume an entire absence of white Republicans, Congressional districts wherein there are large majorities of colored voters would elect Republican

members of Congress if the colored men voted and the elections were honestly conducted. So much being conceded, I ask the attention of the reader to the following table of figures, showing, first, the majority of colored voters over white voters in the Black Districts of Georgia, and, second, the Congressional vote in the same Districts by virtue of which six Democratic members of Congress from Georgia now hold their seats.

CONGRESSIONAL DISTRICTS OF GEORGIA KNOWN
AS THE BLACK DISTRICTS.

2d District, majority of colored voters over white voters in this district as shown by the last census	3,763
Official majority for Turner, Democrat	10,991
3d District, majority of colored voters over white voters in this district as shown by the last census	2,431
Official majority for Crisp, Democrat	6,124
4th District, majority of colored voters over white voters in this district as shown by the last census	2,947
Official majority for Grimes, Democrat	5,673
6th District, majority of colored voters over white voters in this district as shown by the last census	8,229
Official majority for Blount, Democrat	8,809
8th District, majority of colored voters over white voters in this district as shown by the last census	4,180
Official majority for Carlton, Democrat	5,182
10th District, majority of colored voters over white voters in this district as shown by the last census	6,145
Official majority for Barnes, Democrat	5,780

Similar tables might be compiled from the official records of the voting population and the elections

of other Southern States where the Federal Constitution is nullified by the lawless action of organized minorities committed to the suppression of the colored vote and to the maintenance of Bourbon supremacy.

The enfranchisement of the negro, by a Constitutional Amendment, was one, and not the least important one, of the results of the war. In replying to the foregoing address, my friend, the Hon. William E. Russell, of Cambridge, reiterates his belief that the results of the war have been accepted by the South in entire good faith, and that the white people of that section are entirely loyal to the Constitution. He does not believe that the colored vote is suppressed. His convictions are based upon impressions he received during his recent Southern tour, and he states them with his usual eloquence and fervor. Whether impressions made upon him by hospitable Southern Democrats are more trustworthy evidence upon this subject than the tell-tale and indisputable figures I have cited, is a question I may put and safely leave for others to answer.



JUN 06 1997



3 2044 037 743 176

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
HALLOWELL, Richard							Call Number	
AUTHOR							H39	
Price							H193so	
TITLE							1890	
The southern question								

HALLOWELL, Richard	H39
Price	H193so
The southern question	1890
past and present.	

